

SECRET EYES ONLY

10 January 1968

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

Morning Meeting of 10 January 1968



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DD/S discussed the recruiting situation at the University of Wisconsin and reported that the Agency recruiters will ask interested Wisconsin students to visit them in Milwaukee.

DD/S called attention to stories in the local press that CIA and certain other Government agencies are among those who contribute to air pollution in the area.

Carver noted that Kontum was attacked by the Viet Cong and speculated that the anticipated Viet Cong attack on Khe Sanh may be delayed until after the Tet holiday in the first week of February.

Carver called attention to a Life article on Viet Cong acts of terrorism in Saigon.

Warner reported that 23 January will be satisfactory for a briefing of Senator Fulbright.

DD/P called attention to the Sulzberger article in today's New York Times concerning Soviet apprehension about Communist China.

Executive Director reported on the status of surge funding of the two Radio projects.

The Director reported on the SIG meeting of 9 January and on an SIG request for a National Estimate of the impact on the U. S. position in Latin America resulting from our not providing F-5 aircraft to a certain Latin American country. (See Action 1)

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The Director announced that John Warner will become the Deputy General Counsel and that John Maury will replace him as Legislative Counsel [REDACTED]

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ACTIONS:

*Done*  
1. The Director requested that D/ONE report to him regarding the deadline for the Estimate requested by the SIG after he has checked into the terms of reference. (D/ONE by 11 January)

*Done 1/15/68*  
2. The Director asked the DD/I to provide a briefing or a paper for the Under Secretary of the Treasury on the subject of how the Soviet government pays its forces stationed in foreign countries. (DD/I by 17 January)

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[REDACTED]  
L. K. White

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# Foreign Affairs: Russian Dominoes

By C. L. SULZBERGER

PARIS—The most interesting exposition of the so-called "domino theory" I have seen was written by a Soviet commentator and has been made available to Western readers in the current issue of the London publication *Survival*. The article was originally published by Moscow's *Literary Gazette* over the signature of Ernst Henri. Henri is the pseudonym for an influential commentator named Rostovsky.

The "domino theory" is an aphorism for the strategic concept that if all of Vietnam is allowed to become Communist, the entire Southeast Asian peninsula and probably Indonesia as well will follow suit, thereby outflanking the Philippines to the east and India to the west and bringing an unfriendly government down to the frontiers of Australia.

## Not Common in Russia

In one or another form, this theory has been endorsed by three American Presidents—Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson. But it is less frequently expostulated in Soviet publications. I have never seen it dealt with so extensively as by Rostovsky.

Many Americans who criticize President Johnson's Viet-

nam policy insist that there is no danger of Chinese imperialism; that China is not really expansionist, and anyway is too preoccupied with internal quarrels.

## Other Theories

It is also asserted that, should Communism spread in Southeast Asia, it would be anti-Chinese, a kind of Oriental Titoist barrier. Finally, some critics, perhaps inhibited by limited acquaintance with Asian geography or history, claim there need be no link in future relationships between such lands as Vietnam, Malaysia, Thailand or Burma.

Not so Rostovsky. His view of the "domino theory" makes the American version look picayune. He writes: "There can now be no doubt that behind the slogan proclaimed in Peking to the effect that 'the wind is blowing from the East' is concealed a concrete plan, which took shape in the minds of Mao Tse-tung and his associates apparently back in the 1950's and which has recently been labeled officially in China 'The Great Strategic Plan of Mao Tse-tung.'"

Rostovsky says the "main idea . . . amounts to the setting up of a sort of superstate embracing not only eastern and central, but later even western Asia. . . . In a number of re-

spects the 'Mao plan' is strikingly similar to the once famous 'Tanaka plan' drawn up by the Japanese military leaders for conquest of Asia step by step . . .

"Mao proposes to include in his 'Reich,' apart from China itself, Korea, the Mongolian Peoples' Republic, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Indonesia, Burma and several other countries in that region. In the second stage of the 'Storm From the East' it is planned to expand in the direction of the Indian subcontinent, Soviet Central Asia and the Soviet Far East. . . . We are faced with absolutely clear intentions."

The vision is even more terrifying. Rostovsky writes: "Without a global atomic conflict, in the course of which, as Mao has admitted, a 'third' or a 'half' of mankind may perish, Maoist diplomacy cannot conceive of the basic plan being carried out. . . . The militarists in Peking are obviously dreaming of another Chinese empire, operating formally under the red flag of socialism, but in fact copying the militarist policy of the Chinese emperors—the conquerors and mandarins of long-forgotten centuries."

This analysis helps explain, among other things, why Moscow has such an unholy fear of China and also why it quietly

works to limit the Vietnam war. For Russia is scared that Chinese bluster could provide a nuclear holocaust; furthermore, that if China is allowed to assert major influence over client parties and push revolutionary warfare in Vietnam, Thailand and Burma, the next battlefield might be Soviet Asia.

It has thus become a cardinal Soviet policy that China must at all costs be isolated, even if this process involves ideological embarrassment with extreme Communist movements from Peking to Havana. It also helps explain why Asian nations from Japan to Indonesia quietly favor American support of South Vietnam even if they are nervous about saying so.

## Moscow's Version

It might be well for Americans to realize at least that another important capital appears to share Washington's suspicions. The "domino theory" is not a nightmare invented by American politicians—or, if it is, it pales beside Moscow's version.

This does not necessarily prove the theory is correct, but it certainly indicates why Peking hollers that the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. are secretly in cahoots. Perhaps they are. Certainly neither wants to see the world destroyed.